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NEW YORK, APRIL 9, 1899.

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REPORT.

To General Executive Board of the S. T. & L. A.

BY NATIONAL SECRETARY.

A Detailed Account that Bunches into one the Proofs that Pure and Simple Leadership is a Scab-Affair Working Hand in Hand with the Labor Fleecers.

To the General Executive Board.

Comrades:—In submitting my report on the Schoen Steel Car Mill's strike, Allegheny, Pa., whither I was sent to take charge in the name of the S. T. & L. A., March 2, I shall try to be as brief as possible and report the same, also the many obstacles that were thrown in our way by the allies of the capitalist class to compel the employees to return to the deplorable condition from which that had rebelled.

The strike was inaugurated at first by departments where the tasks had been increased, without any advance in wages, and the firm refusing to remedy the following grievances:

1. To close their mills on the Sabbath day.
2. Refusing to allow the departments to cease work when a fellow workman was killed, until such time as the body would be taken away.
3. Refusing to remedy the system of time checks.

To give you a clear understanding of the second demand, will require some explanation. From the many accidents, the most of which proved to be fatal, the mill was called a "slaughter house," and for anyone to acquaint his friends with the fact that he was working in the mill, was to infer that he was tired of life, and they could look for his death at any moment. To cite a case in point, the Sunday before the trouble, a young man, who, by the way, had just been married, while running a crane was killed and his body fell from the track onto straps that were placed under the tracks to catch anything which might fall. The men in this department stopped work to try to get the body down. The Night Superintendent, John Meade, whom I will mention later on in this report, ordered all men to their machines under penalty of dismissal. The body lay for some time in the position it had fallen with blood spattering around the men, who were compelled, under this cursed wage system, to continue to drudge or lose their miserable chance of earning a livelihood.

The third grievance was in keeping with the second. When a man secured a position in the mill, he was given a brass check with a number on. This he was compelled to drop into a slot machine on entering the mill, which registered the time he started to work. Should he be a few minutes late, a fine of 25 cents was imposed. At night, or when the turn was through work, the men were compelled to line up before a window and receive their checks, which was the only proof they had to show for the time they were employed. When you consider that 2,000 or more men employed in each shift, you will have some faint idea of the time the men lost in waiting in line to have their checks returned to them, which was so necessary to prove the time of labor they had sold to this capitalist concern.

At the beginning of the strike, the men sent word to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, the Knights of Labor, and the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, respectively, requesting them to send speakers and organizers to help them to conduct the strike. The committee was informed by these three so-called national labor organizations that if they could not see the necessity of organizing before they went out on strike, it was no time to come and request their assistance when they (the strikers) were in trouble.

On the committee's reporting this answer back to the strikers, three comrades of the S. T. & L. A. who were among the strikers, rose and informed the men that they would get speakers and organizers to help them to conduct the strike. This statement being accepted by the strikers, Comrades Schulberg and Eberle attended their meetings and addressed the strikers. Comrade Schulberg, who is quite a young man, having but just passed his twenty-first year, and being well versed in Socialism, saw the grand opportunity before him to propagate our principles among those of our class who were unacquainted with our teachings, delivered a most stirring address and poured into his audience the principles of New Trade Unionism; it was listened to very attentively, and the conclusion of his remarks he had anticipated his audience.

Comrade Eberle followed and dwelt on the necessity of a class-conscious organization of workmen, with the result that some seventy odd men sent their names for membership in Local Alliance 191, S. T. & L. A.

At the second meeting, which Comrade Schulberg and Eberle attended, on Saturday evening, March 4, two labor states named Gundy and Wyatt, of Pittsburgh, Pa., who had been informed of the great success the Socialists had met with, attended for the purpose of showing the strikers that they were being misled by listening to the teachings of the Socialist Trade &

Labor Alliance. They were permitted to address the strikers and after they had finished Comrade Schulberg replied, and exposed their conduct and treachery to the working class so thoroughly that they were hooted from the hall.

The strike having spread to other departments, the firm saw that they had something on their hands that they had not bargained for, and at once took steps to create trouble that would discourage the strikers and thereby cause them to return to work. On Monday, when Comrade Schulberg was leaving the hall, two men stepped up to him and without any cause or provocation struck him in the face. The comrade made no attempt to retaliate, but a policeman, who was standing opposite and could not possibly help seeing the whole affair, walked over and told Schulberg to stop fighting or he would lock him up. Schulberg then re-entered the hall and remained there. In the evening, another meeting was held and the strike had been strengthened by more men joining the ranks. When this meeting was adjourned an outrageous affair took place which clearly showed that what had happened in the morning was part of a pre-arranged plan to get Schulberg out of the way.

When Schulberg and others were trying to get on the car to go home, a man, who had stepped on the car a block below, refused to allow Schulberg to board the car, claiming that he (Schulberg) was drunk; at the same time two men ran up. One of them was the man who had attacked Schulberg in the morning. These two men began to punch Schulberg right and left. The conductor pulled the bell for the motorman to go ahead. Comrade Eberle called out and ran to the front of the car and told the motorman that an assault was being made on a passenger, and to hold his car; if he did not he would be a party to the assault. Thereupon the party who had refused to allow Schulberg to board the car showed his authority, that of a special officer, and placed Schulberg under arrest. The strikers began to gather around and would have taken Schulberg away from the officer, but he (Schulberg) waved them back and told them not to do anything that would cause further trouble.

The men then fell back and Schulberg was taken to the nearest station house. The next morning comrades of the party were in Court and endeavored to find out what the charge was against Schulberg; they were informed by the magistrate that as yet there was none, and his case would not be tried that day. The comrades then went out to secure counsel. While they were gone Schulberg was brought into the Court and tried under the charge of "disorderly conduct." The Police Officer testifying that in the morning he saw Schulberg come out of a saloon and begin to fight with two men on the sidewalk. Schulberg demanded a jury trial. The magistrate said: "Alright, ten dollars fine, or sixty days in the workhouse." Friends of Schulberg called after he was sentenced and were told that he had been sent up for sixty days, but nothing was said to them about the fine. They asked to see him and were informed that he had already started for Clairmont, where the workhouse is situated. But, while Schulberg's friends were inquiring for him, a very peculiar part of this plan was being carried out in the prison pen. Mr. Schoen had been admitted by the police authorities to see Schulberg and he endeavored to talk to him about the trouble. Schulberg told him that he did not wish to have anything to say to him. That he (Schulberg) did not belong to the organizations of labor whose representatives were in the habit of talking to the employers in private. Schoen finding it impossible to make any impression on our comrade, he retired and Schulberg was immediately railroaded to the workhouse, where his hair was shorn and the stripes put on him inside of an hour. A friend of our cause, on hearing what had been done in this case, immediately took steps which caused the authorities to undo as far as possible all that they had done as quickly as possible, and on Tuesday evening, at 7 o'clock, Schulberg was out and on his way home.

On Wednesday morning, March 8, in company with Comrades Schulberg and Bergmann, I went to the headquarters of the firm and the authorities were explained by Comrade Schulberg to the strikers, and they were more firmly cemented than ever. In the afternoon, in company with the Executive Committee, I visited the firm and saw Superintendent McCool and two others. Chairman Stamper presented the bill of wages and demands. The Superintendent received the same and inquired whether there was a representative present from the different departments, and he was answered in the affirmative. Mr. McCool then inquired how long the different representatives had worked for the firm and upon receiving the necessary information, said that they could not be sufficiently informed to properly represent the different departments from which they had been chosen, and he therefore could not deal with them. This was notwithstanding the fact that the chairman and two others on the committee were receiving as much as their departments were asking for in the new bill of wages, which fully shows that they were skilled workmen and capable of representing their different departments.

On Thursday morning, the hall where the strikers met and the streets leading to it were crowded with men to learn the result of the visit of the committee to the firm. On the meeting being called to order, Chairman Stamper and others submitted their report. During the meeting we were informed

(Continued on page 4)

THE COMMUNE.

Timely Utterances by Jean Jaures.

Epoch-Marking Character of the French Commune in the History of the Proletariat—What It Meant—Secret of its World-Wide Magical Effect—The Three Immediate Objects to be Attained by the Modern Militant Proletariat—A Mirror for America to Look Into and be Guided.

On the 18th of last month, a mammoth meeting was held in Paris, France, at the Salle Chayne, to commemorate the anniversary of the French Commune. A large number of leading Socialists spoke. So many were the speakers that only short addresses could be delivered by each. The following were the words of Comrade Jean Jaures:

"In coming here to salute the combatants of 1871, I wish to recall to your memories certain decisive words contained in the manifesto that was addressed by the Central Committee on the morning of March 18 of that year:

"The proletariat of Paris, in the midst of the defeats suffered by and the collapse of the dominant class, declares that the hour has come for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs."

"This is the answer to those who say the Commune had no programme. It is the very utterance I just quoted that turns the Commune into a new and original fact. Until 1871, the proletariat had been but a fulcrum for other revolutionists; the working class had done nothing but aiding the revolutionary bourgeoisie. In 1871, for the first time, did the class of the exploited, instead of bowing to power, say: 'France is mine; the world is mine!'"

"This, fellow citizens, is the reason why the Commune of Paris produced its magical effect upon the world: other countries had had their glorious hour of battle, but nowhere before did the proletariat place itself at the head of power."

"We can perceive among the peoples only an emulation of revolutionary Socialism. At the very hour when those workmen of Paris were locked up within a wall of iron and fire, at that very hour did they make the announcement that they worked for the proletarians of all countries, knowing that that international appeal would be hearkened."

"And yet there are people who seek to crowd France back upon herself. The attempt is a parody; it is abominable sacrilege."

"The proletariat declared that it came to save the nation in the midst of the defeats suffered by the dominant classes and their collapse. In that consists the grandeur of the revolutionary proletariat."

"But the working class understands that it is for them to save the old patriarchy that the dominant classes are incapable of defending. It says: 'I must save the Republic!'"

"To-day we measure the height to which the French proletariat raised itself on that day. Nothing can henceforth rise above it."

"But, after having gathered these lessons, we must resume the battle in the conditions since created. To-day, the proletariat enjoys unity of doctrine and of thought. Socialist thought has been rendered precise and clarified. 'All schools affirm the necessity of socializing productive property, and of uniting the workmen of all countries.'"

"Yes; it has been my fortune to carry to the English Socialists the greetings of the French Socialists. To-morrow it will be in Brussels, then at the Hague that the Socialists will gather to say to the diplomats: 'YOU can not abolish war because you are the incarnation of war yourselves; capitalism means the war of all against all; the war of the capitalist against the workingman; of even the poor against one another; it means, beyond that, the war of each class against all others, until that day shall come when society shall no longer be cut in two through the privilege of property!'"

"And the Socialists will further say to the diplomats: 'By what hypocritical process do you, who are within yourselves an inventory of all conflicts—come here to prate about peace! There is none other than the workingmen capable of bestowing peace upon the broad common fatherland of emancipated labor!'"

"All this the Commune had affirmed. Since then we have traveled a long way. But we indulge in no illusions. The capitalist world is still strong. Let all Socialists be gathered in their trades unions and their political committees. This is the twin work to which we must consecrate ourselves. 'And yet another measure. The Army is to-day being incited against the proletariat. Cries of: 'Long live the Army' are caused to be uttered at the passage of troops for the purpose of misleading the young soldiers. This is a great crime; here is a great danger. We must humble the reactionary and proud chieftains, and elevate the young soldiers to the dignity of citizens. The old military servitude must be wiped out; this army must be made to participate responsive to the ardent breath of the Revolution."

"Thus must we perpetually announce to the soldier: 'You are marching behind imposition, Calumny, Crime and the Coup d'Etat; return to thy people, return to thyself—to the Proletariat, to the Republic, to the Revolution!'"

FARMERS' TRUST.

"The Five States Milk Producers' League."

Its Plans, Purposes, Methods and Aspirations—The Inward Consciousness of the Sort of Socialism there is at the Bottom of Property—Holders' "National Ownerships" Portrayed in a Dialogue Between a Socialist and a Member of the Oncoming Farmers' Milk Trust.

The attention of all concerned—the extensive collection of wind-jammers, fakirs, and freaks—is respectfully called to the following tale as one fully proving their assertion that the proletariat cannot save himself, but needs the aid of the employing farmer to lift him out of the slough of despond into the realms of bliss.

Likewise can the following true tale be used by the aforesaid political dotson and jetsom, to show how "socialistically inclined" the small-farm-owning crew is; how they "sigh for Socialism with a big S and pant, as does the deer, for that good time coming, now heralded by the sound, as of angry thunder, of the myriad footsteps of small farmers hastening to the Co-operative Commonwealth;—which, if like Debs, you keep your auricular organs in close juxtaposition to the earth, you can readily hear swelling up like unto the breakers of the sea of Eternity on the shores of Time."

How happy will not the pantsless proletariat feel, when he can know for a certainty that the "great middle class of farmers" are "coming his way," stirred with a desire to see him furnished at least with new patches on the bosom of his trousers, even though he may have no pants.

Listen, therefore, ye untutored sons of toil to the story of how your saviors are beginning to save you and thereby honor the prognostications of the great and only "Gene" and the lost tribes of Israel who follow after him.

The farmers of New York State who are now selling milk to the combine which controls the milk supply of New York City, have been instrumental in forming what is called the "Five States Milk Producers' League," composed of milk producers in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

The plan of organization is as follows:

"The officers of the league go around and get from each farmer producing sufficient milk to sell a 'power of attorney' to sell for said farmer all the milk produced by him; said 'power of attorney' to begin September 1, 1899. All farmers granting such 'power of attorney' to become members of the Five States League."

The object of the league is to control sufficient of the supply of milk for New York City, and other towns in the five States mentioned, to fix the price which shall be paid for milk at the railroad stations.

Heretofore farmers have had to sell their milk at the railroad as low as three-quarters of one cent a quart; with the aid of the "Five States League," it is the intention to raise the price to 2½ cents per quart at the railroad stations.

During a conversation with a prominent member of the "Five States League," I gleaned the following allegations: That said league would have control absolutely, after September 1, of over two-thirds of the milk supply of New York, Buffalo, Boston, Rochester, Albany, Philadelphia, Providence, Jersey City, and several other large towns; that the league was composed of any and all farmers who sold any milk; that absolute control of the individual farmer's milk had been vested in the officers of the league and that on September 1 "hell is going to be turned loose" until the farmers get the price fixed by the league.

On my asking this gentlemanly farmer how they intended to turn "hell loose," he said: "By withholding the supply of milk."

"But that would cause awful misery in the cities, especially for the children," I suggested.

"Well, what has that got to do with us?" exclaimed the farmer, "we've got to live, too; anyway, you people in the cities would have to give in in two days."

"Yes," said I, "but it's not we people in the cities who are to blame for the lack of profit you complain about now, we have no objection to you farmers making a living, we ourselves, that is the working class, are not causing your trouble; it is the capitalists."

"That's it," said the farmer gentleman, "its those damned capitalists we're trying to get at."

"Yes, but you don't get THEM, you get US," said I. "Why not join with the working class and fight for the overthrow of capitalism with its private ownership of the wealth producing and distributing agencies? Why not rid the country of capitalism and capitalists by making the implements of production and distribution collective property?"

"Well," answered he, "if we had the government ownership of railroads then we need not pay so much to bondholders and corporations, I am in favor of that."

"Then you could sell milk for less than it is now sold," said I, "and thereby benefit the workingman in the city, eh?"

"No, you see with milk selling at the station for 2½ cents a quart a man couldn't clear more than \$1,000 a year

on a herd of 20 cows; and \$1,000 is little enough for any man who has five or six thousand dollars capital invested."

"But," said I, "if you get but 1½ cents a quart for milk now and you raise the price to 2½ cents, won't the retailer in the city raise the retail price?"

"Oh, yes I suppose so," said he, "but that's got nothing to do with us, we don't care what the retailer charges; all we want is the 2½ cents a quart."

"Yes, but suppose before you get it," said I, "your fight may cause the death of many children, what then?"

"Ah, we can't help that, that's not our business," said this "Nature's nobleman."

"Well, say," said I, "don't you think it would be better if you were to combine with the working class and jointly secure the collective ownership of all land, tools, factories, railroads, machines, mines, etc., etc.; then when you produced you would be certain of getting equal value in some other man's product, and it would not be necessary to corner the market and thus cause misery and death for perhaps thousands of men, women and children?"

"Say," said he, "do you mean that land, cows, buildings, horses, farm machinery and all like that should be owned by the nation?"

"Yes!"

"Oh, no! Oh, no!" objected he, "I've worked for what I've got, and I'm not going to turn it over to a lot of lazy, good-for-nothing tramps from the cities, oh no!"

"But, you said you favored the government ownership of railroads, didn't you?"

"Yes, but that's different," said he, "I could get cheaper rates then."

"Well," said I, "if the workingman could get government ownership of land, cows, farms, etc., he could get cheaper milk, see?"

"Well, he'll never get it while farmers have anything to say," said Mr. Farmer. And there I quit this, according to Debs, second-cousin-to-aunt-Billy of the workers, rioting in glorious visions of how his "Five States Milk Producers' League" was going to knock the stuffing out of the milk trust; all in the interest of the poor, dear, weak, little proletariat, who so badly needs the tender and thoughtful care, of his elder and larger brother: the employing farmer, supplemented, as it must be, by the solicitude and self-denying abnegation of that "demolisher of trusts" and boomer of assassinations à la Miles; that great and only one-cent-latter-day-silver-bug-forty-square-miles-of-nastiness-and-combining-electric-shocker yecelp, the "New York Journal."

It was a wise man who said: "There are fools and fools,—but, don't forget the farmer," and especially the two-bynine buckeye farmer, trying to form a Trust, which Trust will get one solar plexus blow from J. P. Morgan and then "wake up"—as the Irishman said—"to find himself dead."

ARTHUR KEEP.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time, it will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

THE SCREWS ARE TURNING IN HOLYOKE.

HOLYOKE, Mass., April 4.—Whatever affects paper-making affects Holyoke and Holyokers, there being fully one-fourth of Holyoke's working population, over 3,000, employed in the twenty paper mills of the town.

Seventeen of these mills manufacture the finer grades of writing, book, bond and ledger paper. These mills have gone into the combine and at present there are experts in the mills classifying, checking off, viewing everything in the mills. The work of these experts naturally alarms the workers, foremen and superintendents; and each one asks himself the question, How is the change going to affect me?

A comrade, who has worked nearly all of his lifetime in these mills, made this statement: "The change from the individual management of these mills to the combine management will throw out of employment hundreds of men and women in all departments, including the well paid clerks, foremen and even superintendents. You see," proceeded the comrade, "there is a good deal of labor and material wasted now by reason of the many small orders for paper. We have to stop and clean the machines, and prepare the material for every order that comes in. The combine will run all orders for one kind of paper on selected machines which will turn out only that class of paper and no other. Consequently, there is no need of frequent cleaning of machines, and no waste in material, hence much labor will be done away with and lots of material saved. The mills being run by a central office, much supervision, clerking and office work will become superfluous, and, of course, will be dispensed with. Instead of seventeen offices with a full set of officials for each there will be only one office; consequently, many will lose their jobs and the Socialists and who sneered at the capitalists because they thought them crazy because they foretold that things would turn out just so. And those who retain their jobs will have to work harder than ever because the machines will be kept running full speed all the time with little interruption except when enough goods have been produced; and then there will come shorter hours (as is now the case with the envelope trust) and, of course, shorter pay."

Your correspondent asking, What is to be done about it? was told: "Get hold of the law-making bodies, and make laws to suit the new conditions." The by-standers assented, saying: "By God, you are right!"

HELP!

The Owens Chimney Machine Shakes Up the A. F. G. W. U.

SOCIALISTS, TAKE HOLD!

Hopelessness and Helplessness in Which a Generation of "Pure and Simple" Ignorant Leadership Finds a Once Powerful Organization at a Critical Moment.

MARION, Ind., March 30.—The trials of the chimney workers of the American Flint Glass Workers' Union have begun. The national officers of that labor organization have sent a circular to the trade containing the following:

"The Owens chimney machine, which has been operated in an experimental way for six months past, and which has been the cause of much agitation to the chimney trade, has become an important factor in the chimney business. The capacity of the machine has passed beyond the point of mere speculation and into the domain of definite information. It is no longer necessary to guess what the machine can do; we can now ascertain what the machine has done. In Montreal, where the machine has been operated for nearly six months by our members, a maximum production of 1,348 No. 1 bulb crimped top chimneys has been reached; an average production of 1,150 of No. 2 bulb crimped top chimneys; the greatest production was 1,250, the average 1,050, at a shop cost of \$10.05, including cost of crimping. If we assume that by practice the shop's at Montreal may be educated to the point of producing on an average as many chimneys per turn as the greatest output at that point to date shows, and if we allow the same loss for cutting off one end of the chimney (20 per cent.) as is now allowed for cutting off both ends of the regular paste mould chimney, Montreal is producing one dozen No. 1 bulb crimped top chimneys at \$10.11, to which it is necessary to add the cost of cutting off and glazing the heel. If we assume that such labor will cost \$0.01½, which is liberal enough for all comparisons, the result at Montreal may be said to be dozen No. 1 bulb crimped top chimneys at \$10.12½."

"Passing from Montreal to Toledo, where the same machine is operated under more favorable circumstances by non-union labor, and under the direct supervision of the inventor, we come in view of more discouraging results to the chimney trade. The shop cost at Toledo is \$8.35 as against \$10.05 at Montreal; for cutting off and crimping at Toledo and finishing ready for the market is three-fourths of one cent per dozen against a cost of \$0.01½ at Montreal. As for the production, the numbers at Toledo are far in excess of those at Montreal."

"The results already attained by the machine threaten to demolish the entire chimney trade, unless something is done to minimize its influence. The manufacturers, as much interested as the workers, now appear to be less concerned than the workers regarding the machine. This is probably due to the fact that some of them are now engaged in trying to organize a combination in the trade upon which they can rely to place the burden of the machine competition upon the shoulders of the workers. Certain it is that not one of them has made a suggestion to meet the machine problem that does not contemplate either reduced wages or increased hours upon the part of the workers."

"In face of the situation now confronting the workers, brought about by the presence of the machine, we feel that an advisory meeting of the chimney trade should be held, made up of one representative from each factory, to consider the situation to present it in all its details to the chimney trade, and to advise what in its judgment should be done by the members of the chimney trade in view of the situation."

It will be noticed that the national officers call for an advisory meeting, made of one representative from each factory. They think that all the members of the chimney trade are not capable of voting intelligently upon such questions. That is the way the members here in Marion look at it. It will also be noticed that these officers don't seem to know what is hitting us any more than if they were Choctaw Indians. Their surprise at the calmness of the employers at this juncture; their wonderment at the threatened reductions; their child-like astonishment "at the situation now confronting us";—all that prefigures some stupid scheme along the old beaten path of "Pure and Simpledom."

Never was the S. T. & L. A. more needed. If it does not take hold promptly, demoralization will ensue in our trade, and the individual workers will be seen scampering for safety, like naked Filipinos, armed with bows and arrows, before the modern guns of the American soldiers.

E. J. DILLON, Organizer, Section Marion, Ind.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time, it will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

THE PEOPLE.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) 2,068
 In 1890 13,331
 In 1892 (Presidential) 21,157
 In 1894 33,133
 In 1896 (Presidential) 36,564
 In 1898 82,204

Well, you folks kin keep on shoutin' wif' ye gold er silvah cry,
 But I tell you people hams is scoerer an' fowls
 is roosin' high;
 An' all ain't de so't o' money dat is posterin'
 my min',
 But de question I want answered 's how to get
 at any kin'!

PAUL LAWRENCE DUNBAR.



Municipal elections have been held in several towns during the last few days, with the Socialist Labor party in the field. Only from few places have the returns reached this office; but those that have come in are cheering.

From Dayton, O., for instance, we learn that at the city election the S. L. P. polled 314 straight votes, to 244 last year.

From Catskill, N. Y., where the party never yet had a ticket and set up a full one this year, the news is that the S. L. P. candidate for Trustee in District 2, John W. Clum, polled 92 votes; Nelson S. Shaler, for Trustee in District 3, polled 98; Myron Hamm, for Treasurer, 90; James S. Burhams, for Assessor, 81; Du Bois B. DePuy, for Collector, 88; Warren E. Winkler, for Police Justice, 97.

PLAIN LANGUAGE NEEDED.

Professor Herron is credited with these words, recently uttered in a Western city:

"The industrial civilization of to-day compels every child born into it to fight, from start to finish a pitched battle for existence. A man, put thus on the defensive from the very moment he first draws breath, can in no wise know what is in him, or even aspire to do, much less so. This industrial civilization curses the soul of a man if he triumphs over it or is dragged beneath it. To the successful man it means the destruction of conscience. To him who fails it works destruction of individuality."

"We have not risen to anything that might be called reason in our collective life in the municipality or in the commonwealth, until the whole communal life places all its resources instantaneously at the disposal of every child ushered into this world. Instead of that, through some alchemy or strange unreason, every child born into your city, whether on South Side or in the 19th Ward, finds itself either struggling to keep what it has or to get what it has not. In other words, this industrial civilization, the blessings of which some of our preachers would carry into the new-caught islands of the sea, threatens with destruction every child from the very first dawn of its self-consciousness."

"What to-day is industry organized for? For what do trusts come into being? To what is the modern commercial genius giving itself? It is giving itself to devising laws, ways and means to keep the people of the earth from using the resources that were intended for them."

"The citizens of this city, nearly all of them, are fighting a life-long pitched battle to escape economic destruction—with no opportunity to live a positive life, a life that is self-expressive. Industry as constituted to-day, puts all men on the defensive, and when life is merely spent in self-defense, the living of a positive life is almost impossible."

These sentiments are well expressed, and the facts and reason cogent; so far so good. But how is this all to be avoided? Is it avoidable? The passage gives no clue. In days, like these, when social misery is so keenly felt, something more is needed, something more is called for, than to lay the finger on every gash that the existing social system hath given to the people.

Is Free Silver the solution, is Gold the solution, is Free Trade the solution, is Protection the solution, is the solution?

The Socialist Labor party says: "Socialism, via the conquest of the public powers upon a programme that demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class."

What says Prof. Herron? Does he think so? If not, why not? If he does think so, why says he not so?

MARLBORO A TYPE.

It is now approaching on ten years that the conflict started between the Socialist Labor party and the Labor Fakir brigade. The policy of endeavoring to propitiate these gentlemen, and of directing the party's course according to their suggestions was abandoned. A new policy was started, the policy of seeing in the "Labor Leaders" just what they were, and not following being humbugged by them. The party ran up its colors to the mast-

head, and nailed them there; took and kept the political field; and, keeping its head close to the wind, plowed its way forward. Such a policy had upon the Fakirs the effect that smoke has upon squirrels when made to draw through a hollow tree: the Fakirs were smoked out into the open. From that moment on, these wretched had to face the music. The method they adopted was that of charging the S. L. P. with "Union Wrecking." Thus the conflict has since been raging on that quarter around the word "Union": the Fakirs claiming that their organizations were the only real "Unions," the S. L. P. maintaining that Fakir-led organizations, run for the collection of dues, and operated in the interest of the capitalist class, are not "Unions" at all, but that the genuine Union is that organization of Labor that is organized for the daily class struggle and does not allow capitalist politicians to play with it as with a foot ball.

It can not be denied that the leading representative of the Fakirs' style of "Union" is Mr. Samuel Gompers. What he says is a "Union," such as he understands the word, must surely be a genuine sample of his genus; nor can it be doubted that what he considers the proper policy and "trade union lines" must be typical of the policy and conduct of his brand of Unionism. Now, then, at the late Kansas City so-called convention of Mr. Gompers' A. F. of L., he delivered a speech; that is to say, he delivered several; but one of his speeches, recorded on page 122 of his own "Report of Proceedings," contains a passage that, just now, read by the light of recent events in Marlboro, Mass., is of intense interest. Referring in the speech to the municipal elections, then just held in that town, Mr. Gompers said:

"We elected the Mayor and ten out of four hundred Councilmen, and ON TRADE UNION LINES, TOO."

Stick a pin there.

During the last five weeks labor meeting upon labor meeting was held in Marlboro denouncing the Mayor, who had been elected "on trade union lines, too," the ground for these meetings being his hostility to the striking shoemakers; and last week not only did that Mayor veto an order, whereby the city government granted the free use of City Hall Sunday afternoon for four weeks to the striking shoemakers, but the City Fathers, an overwhelming majority of whom had been elected "on trade union lines, too" à la Gompers, did not re-pass the order over the veto of the Mayor.

We have here, on the authority of the best authority on Pure and Simple Unionism, a comprobation of the charge brought against the concern by New Trade Unionism.

The Pure and Simple Union, utterly class-unconscious and led by ignorant amuses and scamps, proceeds upon lines that render every of its acts a boomerang. Class-conscious politics it rejects as impractical and repulsive to "Unionism," but the sort of politics it adopts as "trade union lines, too" is the politics that the cat in the fable was subjected to when she allowed the monkey to use her paws to draw the hot chestnuts out of the fire with. Never standing erect, being devoid of the dignity that class-consciousness imparts, Pure and Simpledom always leans on something else; that something else is its hereditary foe; it does the work for him, and gets it in the neck.

The boast of Gompers:

"We elected the Mayor and ten out of four hundred Councilmen, and ON TRADE UNION LINES, TOO."

is typical of Pure and Simple victories. Whether on the economic or any other field, on the Gompers "trade union line, too," these victories are all alike, —moonshine; they all alike lead to but one end—Union Wrecking.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC.

The below clipping from the San Francisco, Cal., "Post," giving the account of a Court scene where Comrade James O'Brien was tried for "obstructing the streets," needs no further introduction to be enjoyed:

James O'Brien, a street orator, who on Sunday afternoon preached the gospel of pure politics from piles of lumber and fruit boxes along the water front, was before Judge Graham this morning charged with obstructing the sidewalk.

Officer Whittle, who participated in the arrest, took the stand and told of the alleged lawlessness of the defendant. The defendant expounded learnedly on the banking policy of the Federal Government on Sunday.

Officer McGrath followed. He assisted in dragging O'Brien from off the top of a pile of lumber.

"Was I or the lumber obstructing the street?" asked the defendant.

McGrath had to admit that the lumber took up more room than the speaker, but he qualified his declaration with the explanation that O'Brien was a crank.

"What is your idea of a crank?" hurriedly asked the defendant.

McGrath worked uneasily in his chair and refused to reply. By persisting with questions O'Brien drew from the guardian of the peace the startling testimony that, in his opinion, a crank was a man who disagreed with him.

Judge Graham took a hand in the discussion with a remark to McGrath. "You are in a court of justice," remarked his Honor, "and must not imagine that you are on the water front boarding sailors or addressing piles of lumber. The arrest was illegal, and the defendant is accordingly dismissed."

The orator then retired from the tribunal of justice, followed by a troop of his disciples.

Technical reasons compel us to urge our contributors to the May Day issue to forward their promised articles at the very earliest date possible.

A VIRGIN FIELD.

That economic conditions are the basis of social institutions, and an idea of the atavism which would result from the adoption of such a system as the Single-Tax, may be gathered from an able article in the March number of the "Atlantic Monthly Magazine," "Our Contemporary Ancestors in the Southern Mountains" by W. G. Frost.

It will surprise many to learn that we have, within the ride of a day or so, between two and three million people "who are living to all intents and purposes in the conditions of the colonial times."

All through the Appalachian system—a mountain territory much larger than all New England—live "these eighteenth century neighbors and fellow countrymen of ours." The writer points out that the pioneers of this section "went West" under the same mighty impulse which peopled Western New York and Ohio, but a vast mountain region lay in their pathway, they stepped aside from the then great avenues of commerce—the waterways—and practically became lost in this great inland and upland realm. The fate of these pioneers and their descendants is a forcible illustration of the importance of ready intercommunication as a means of progress. The highways of this section "are the beds of streams; commerce and intercourse are conditioned by horseflesh and saddle-bags."

In external survivals are the log-cabin, flambeaux lamps in which grease is burned with a floating wick. "Handmills for grinding can still be constructed by well-brought-up mountain men, and in some places they have not yet lost the tradition of the fashioning of the old English crossbow!" The "wheel" of the mountain maid is the spinning wheel, which she uses to-day as did her foremothers for a hundred generations. Startling survivals of Saxon speech are to be found, quite a vocabulary of Chaucer's words was made out by the studious. Along with these survivals of Saxon arts and speech survives the thought of the eighteenth century. Of the development of things and ideas since the Revolution they have no knowledge, these things have not affected them. The very songs they sing are the old English ballads of the original settlers. Their religion is accepted with a literalness that would distract "modern criticism."

Politically they are in the feudal state, voting for their "leader" irrespective of what he may determine to stand for. The social condition is well reflected in the blood-feuds of which the outside world hears but vague rumors, the homicides are committed to satisfy some "point of honor." "As an institution it has its roots deep in old world traditions." Here in prosaic America a Scott might find material for a new Waverley.

The industrial development is on a par with other things. Lumbering, getting out and rafting logs, is the chief means of contact with the outside world. Small individual production for home consumption prevails; what little excess of production there is falls into exchange through barter at the store. Ownership of small land holdings is the rule. The author informs us that this Arcadian simplicity will soon be a thing of the past—herein lies its importance to us. "Ruthless change is knocking at the door of every mountain cabin. The jackals of civilization have already abused the confidence of many a highland home." Resources elsewhere becoming worked out, the lumber, coal and mineral wealth of the mountains is to be possessed. The capitalist is appearing upon the scene, with his advent the inaccessible will be made easy of approach. Then in the twinkling of an eye this region, which still preserves with the lack of conveniences of the colonial times their sturdy independence, will be transformed into dens of slave-pens like those of Pennsylvania with which capitalism has made us familiar, with all the woe the words imply, unless the new trades unionism of the Socialist Labor party marches shoulder to shoulder with capitalism when it fairly invades this section, and WE MAY REST ASSURED IT WILL. When the "philanthropic" capitalist here takes up the "white man's burden"—plunder from the workers—let there be no fakirs to connive at the robbery or to keep the workers perplexed at the cause of their sufferings.

Mr. Frost warns us not to confound these people with what is termed the "poor whites," the mountaineers had little or no contact with slavery, even toleration for it never penetrated the mountains, so that when the civil war came these people stood by the old flag and even held Kentucky and West Virginia loyal to the Union. The writer bears testimony to the fact that while the people are what is termed "illiterate" many of them from experience and reflection upon the problems of life have gained the poise and power of true philosophers. We are reminded that it was this region that produced Lincoln.

Here is virtually a virgin field for Socialist effort, let us as individuals and as an organization sow it deep with the good seed of Socialism, as we do this work now so shall we reap in the near future.

JOHN HOSSACK.

Jersey City, N. J.

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WHAT DAMNED FOOLS MARX AND ENGELS WERE!

The story is told that, somewhere in the backwoods, a rustic, who knew as much about law as the potatoes that he hoed, was elevated to the Bench in his village. The man was a caricature of a Judge, and slaughtered jurisprudence as he slaughtered pigs. One day he had been particularly hard on the canons of the law, and gave a decision that staggered the lawyer against whose pleadings the decision was rendered. For a while the lawyer sat with his head between his hands; then he recovered himself, picked up a volume of Blackstone's Commentaries and rose to address the Court. "His Honor" growled out to him: "What, on your legs again; do you still insist I am wrong?"

"No, Your Honor," answered the lawyer with a twinkle in his eye, "just the other way; I only want to show Your Honor what a damned fool Blackstone was"; and he then proceeded to read a passage from the reverend jurist that "His Honor" had just been transgressing.

The country Solon of the story (in point of law) is not in it with the "Volkszeitung," "Economist" (in point of political economy). In the language of the lawyer in the story, we shall here proceed to show what damned fools Marx and Engels were, by placing in parallel columns certain recent Solomonic utterances of the "Volkszeitung," on the one side, and the statements of the founders of modern Socialism, on the other:

Volkszeitung, March 29

The workingman pays the indirect taxes of his country (in so far as these fall upon the necessities of life) as consumer, out of his earnings. If, due to new or higher taxes upon the necessities of life, the prices of these rise, the wages or the earnings of the workingman, DO NOT—on that ground—AT ALL RISE. (The underscoring is the "Volkszeitung's" own.)

Engels, "Discourse on Free Trade," 1847. Doubtless, if the price of all commodities fell, the necessary consequence of Free Trade, I can buy far more for a franc than before. And the workingman's franc is as good as any other man's franc. Therefore, Free Trade must be advantageous to the workingman. The only difficulty in this, namely that the workingman, before he exchanges his franc for other commodities, has first exchanged his labor for the money, the capitalist. If in this exchange he always received the same franc while the price of all other commodities fell, he would always be the gainer by such a bargain. The difficulty does not lie in proving that, the price of all commodities falling, a franc commensurate can be bought for the same sum of money.

Economists always take the price of labor at the moment of its exchange with other commodities, and altogether ignore the moment at which labor accomplishes its own exchange with capital. When it costs less to set in motion the machinery which produces commodities, then the things necessary for the maintenance of this machine, called workingman, will cost less. If all commodities are cheaper, labor, which is a commodity, will also fall in price, and we shall see later that this commodity, labor, will fall far lower in proportion than all other commodities. If the workingman still pine for his fair share to the arguments of the economists, he will find, one fine morning, that the franc has dwindled in his pocket, and that he has only five sous left.

Engels, Preface to the above, 1888.

Protection at home was of advantage to none but the producers of articles of food and other raw materials, to the agricultural interest, which, under then existing circumstances in England, meant the receivers of rent, the landed aristocracy. And this kind of protection was hurtful to the manufacturers. But taxing raw materials it raised the price of articles manufactured from them; BY TAXING FOOD, IT RAISED THE PRICE OF LABOR; in both ways, it placed the British manufacturer at a disadvantage as compared with his foreign competitor.

The hour is not yet to take hold of the allegations of fact in the "Volkszeitung" article of last March 7 and show them to be false, substantially false; show the "heavy burden" that "every man, woman and child" of the working class is thereby said to be made to bear, by reason of the recently imposed indirect taxes, to be a reckless fabrication, and the figures of dollars and cents, with which the fabrication is tricked out, a mere jugglery, worthy of the expertest "Tax-Reform" bourgeois juggler in figures. A special article on the subject, thus carrying this necessary war "into Africa," and exposing that, to the working class, perfidious article of March 7, is in preparation, and will in due time be published. On that line of the subject, the correspondence from Comrade Arthur Keep, found on the third page of this issue, may, for the present, suffice as a preliminary ray of light. In the meantime we shall take up successively the scientific economic principles at issue that the "Volkszeitung" is slaughtering, particularly with an eye on indirect taxation upon which it continues to harp.

The two passages above quoted from Marx and Engels give the obverse and the reverse of a medal, that may be called the Law of Wages as affected by indirect taxation.

To say that the workingman pays the indirect taxes, thereby reducing his share of the wealth he produces, is the favorite trick by which the free trader and "tax reformer" generally seeks to cheat the workingmen into supporting

him as "a reliever of the burden of taxation from the shoulders of the workingmen." The statement means that, the tax being removed, the workingman's franc, to use Marx' words, will be able to buy more than before. The above passage from Marx brilliantly nails the insinuated economic lie: just as soon as these indirect taxes are removed, the wages drop, and they drop harder than the tax. Does the "Economist" on the "Volkszeitung" know this? Either he does or he does not. If he does not, what a damned fool Marx was! If he does, how criminally tactless is not the method, adopted by the "Volkszeitung," of treating so delicate a question, on which the capitalist class in this country has created so much confusion, without saying one single, solitary word on the subject that (even if indeed these indirect taxes are thought to crush the workers) THE REMOVAL THEREOF WOULD BRING NO RELIEF, because "the franc will dwindle down to five sous"! Silence on such a point, hand in hand with the accentuation of the claim that the workingman DOES pay the taxes, can have no effect other than to drive the workingman into the "Tax-Reformers' shambles." It is not the American workingman alone who is particularly given "to jumping sideways" as the "Volkszeitung" insultingly and with its usual tactlessness puts it, but all workingmen of all nationalities are given the same way. Where man thinks he CAN get SOME relief, it is human nature that he should be inclined to try and get that. This the "Tax-Reformer" knows full well, and he has successfully made, not Americans only, but Germans, Jews, Irishmen, Italians and all the other nationalities in the country "jump sideways" with the lure of a relief that the economic Law of Wages makes impossible to the wage slave. Silence on such a point, whether out of ignorance or otherwise, brands a writer unfit, and marks the workingman's paper that tolerates him an ignis fatuus to its workingmen readers—however much he and it may thereby earn the love and affection of the small trader class, larger beer saloonkeepers, little speculators in real estate, usurious money lenders, etc., who alone could find relief in a removal of such taxes. That much for the one side of the medal.

Engels gives the other side. A rise in the cost of the necessities of life does NOT AT ALL RAISE WAGES in the rigid economic law dogmatically laid down by the "Economist" of the "Volkszeitung"; to claim that a rise in the cost of the necessities DOES raise wages the gentleman repudiates with "NEVER!"; he declares that such a claim savors of the "long ago buried 'iron law' of wages," and, in haughty disgust at the inferiority of the races who will need enlightenment on this subject, he glories in the thought that the "German Socialists" have "long ago made the correct theory part and parcel of their flesh and bone."—How un-German; how given to dead and buried past errors; in short, what a damned fool Engels was to say that the indirect taxation on food in Protection England DID RAISE THE PRICE OF LABOR, i. e., the wages, and as a matter of course, at that!

The obverse of a theory that Marx elucidated as far back as 1847, Engels tersely gives, as late as 1888, the reverse of. Indeed every student and observer knows that the question of taxes is a question between capitalists; this fact transpires clearly from the above quotations throughout the magnificent discourse of Marx and the clever preface to it by Engels. But they were no pedants, guddily-headed coughing up chunks of undigested learning.

There may be those, who, of vulgar turn of mind, may gloat at this controversy as they cruelly would at a dog-fight; or others, who, sufficiently informed, may think the controversy idle. But it is neither a dog-fight nor an idle affair. The surprise has thus and again been expressed beyond the boundaries of this city at the relatively slow progress of the party here. To point out the reason is to help to remove the evil. On the one hand, the German workingman in this city can not be taught false economics, he can not be left exposed to the lures of false economics, without the poison, injected into him by a daily paper in his own language, being carried over to and contaminating his fellow wage slaves of other extractions in his shop;—and if that poison comes from a paper that is considered Socialist, the poison will be only of all the surer effect. On the other hand, the German workingman here can not be blown up with racial conceit, a notion of vainglorious superiority over his fellow wage slaves of other nationalities. American especially, can not be breathed into him by a paper in his own language, without the day is postponed when his other fellow wage slaves and he can fraternize,—and if that mischievous conceit proceeds from a paper that is considered Socialist, the mischief is bound to be all the worse: men repelled by the racial conceit of others are more likely to feel repulsion against than attraction for the principles of such people. Among the brightest intellects, among the foremost, hardest, most industrious workers everywhere in the party are German comrades to be found; they are second to none and abreast of the best, all along the line; but for THESE the party would not be even where it is to-day. But they, and, for the same reason that they, our non-German comrades here are, so to speak, swimming with leaden boots. The situation can not be better described than in the closing words of the first article we wrote when, on last December 25, we felt constrained to open fire on the "Volkszeitung":

Passages, such as the one here submitted to the scapel, can not find their way into the party's "German organ," the "Vorwaerts"; it is in charge of too clear-headed and conscientious a man for that. But the "Vorwaerts" is read mainly outside of this city; and here, indeed, we find the German element moving with steady pace; in this city, however, the "Vorwaerts" is little read; the "Volkszeitung" is considered its daily edition. In view of the appearance of such and similar wrong-headed and misleading articles in a German Socialist daily paper in this city, it is at all surprising that progress from the quarter of the German element is not here what it might be!

A third 5,000 edition of the pamphlet "What Means this Strike?" is now out. Its large sale is a gratifying sign of the times, and it is an evidence of the class of literature that is most useful and, consequently, best called for.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan

Brother Jonathan—I wonder why it is the Socialists must season so benign a principle as theirs with the sauce of hatred.

Uncle Sam—Do they?

B. J.—Why, certainly they do. Don't you know that they preach class hatred?

U. S.—No, I don't; and what's more I know they don't. We are organized in our union, aren't we?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Why do we do so?

B. J.—Because, if we didn't, the employer would skin us worse than he does now.

U. S.—So then you admit there is a class conflict between us, workingmen, and the employer.

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—And is the fact that we recognize the fact a seasoning of our organization with the sauce of hatred?

B. J.—No; but—

U. S.—"Buts." The Socialists do not season their benign principles with the sauce of hatred, but only with the sauce of common sense.

B. J.—Will you deny that the Socialists are always saying that they aim at the conquest of power by the working class?

U. S.—No; I won't deny that; on the contrary, I admit it and approve of it. B. J.—Very well; and what, pray, do you call that if not seasoning a good principle with hatred, class hatred. How can one class win without an other losing?

U. S.—It simply can't be done; right you are in that!

B. J.—Now, how can you deny that that sort of thing is a seasoning of hatred. Classes are bad things; where they exist rows, conflict, hatred must be. What would be the use of wiping out one class by setting up another?

U. S.—Now you begin to talk sense. B. J.—There, then, you agree, don't you? that this setting up one class and setting down of another keeps up class rows and hatreds.

U. S.—I fully agree that to set up one class and set down another, and keeping up class distinctions don't set us further on the road towards a humane existence.

B. J.—Well, I'm glad to hear you say so. That's all I meant.

U. S.—No; that's not all you meant.

B. J.—What else could I mean?

U. S.—What you said was that the Socialist aim of bringing the working class into power was a seasoning of hatred, because class conflicts are bound to continue if the thing is merely the bouncing of one class and the enthroning of another.

B. J.—That's just what I said.

U. S.—And, if that means anything, it means that the victory of the working class would be similar to the victories of all other classes: a change of oppressors.

B. J.—That's it!

U. S.—And that is wrong.

B. J.—How so?

U. S.—If you drop a lighted parlor match into a box of gun-powder, it will explode, eh?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—And if you drop a lighted common sulphur match into that box—

B. J.—It will explode likewise.

U. S.—Does it follow from that, whatever you drop into that box, an explosion will follow?

B. J. ponders.

U. S.—If you drop a tumbler-full of water into it—

B. J.—No, no explosion will then follow.

U. S.—And the gun-powder's explosive powers—

B. J.—Will be at an end thereafter.

U. S.—Just so in this gun-powder social system that our race has been living in. The successive victories of the several classes were so many lighted matches of different composition dropped into it; "explosions" had to follow; that is, class distinctions, with all the conflicts and hatreds thereby implied, had to continue. Why? Because the programme that each of these previous classes brought along with it, and had to bring along with it obedient to the law of its own existence, was a class war programme; it was so because they all were based upon a principle that necessitates class war: that principle was the PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF THE THINGS NEEDED TO EARN A LIVING BY. With the working class it is otherwise: the programme that it is bound to bring along with it is the PUBLIC OWNERSHIP OF THE THINGS NEEDED TO EARN A LIVING BY. Thus the victory of the working class necessarily means the abolition of class distinctions, the wiping out of class wars, the doing away with class-hatreds, the laying of the only foundation possible for "Peace on earth, good will among men." Catch on?

B. J.—Somewhat.

U. S.—Thus the Socialist's principles alone are the principles that are not seasoned with hatred but are seasoned with love; all other political and economic movements, on the contrary, whatever their name, whatever their pretences, are the ones that are seasoned in hatred: each and all of them cling to the PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF THE THINGS NEEDED TO EARN A LIVING BY, consequently, all start from, are built upon, the source of all class hatred. Think this over.

Keep an eye on your wrapper. See when your subscription expires. Renew in time. It will prevent interruption in the mailing of the paper and facilitate work at the office.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

SECTION VANCOUVER'S, B. C.,

Answer to a Local "Critic" but Actual Slanderer.

Hamlet said to Ophelia: "Be thou pure as snow and chaste as ice, thou shalt not escape calumny."

The latest attack on the S. L. P. of Canada is made by "Citizen and Country," a journal of "Social, Moral and Economic Reform," published by the "Social Progress" Company, Toronto, Ont., and edited by George Wrigley, late Editor of the Hamilton, Ont., "Templar" (Prohibition) and of the "Farmer's Sun," organ of the Patrons of Industry. It is fitting that an answer be made to the insinuations and utterly false accusations made against our party by this "Christian" brother, while his criticism is so manifestly unfair, still it may influence some of those who take the vapors of this class of "Social Reformers" at their face value.

While by its very grossness it will no doubt defeat its purpose, yet it is valuable as showing the type of "obscure" to the straightest, purest political party in Canada to-day.

The attack referred to is found in an article headed "To Our Christian Comrades" in the March 3 issue, and is an appeal to Christian ministers for subscriptions and sympathy. It contains the following:

Our propaganda to win the Churches as co-workers in our study of social and economic reform has not estranged any section of the people other than the Socialist Labor body, whose numbers in Canada are small, and of whom it is necessary to say a word or two.

The Socialist Labor party in Europe and America is the body advocating material property that takes the extreme view in opposition to the Church. Their press in Europe and the United States is bitterly hostile, and very many members of that body are pronounced atheists. It is not desirable, we have believed, to have such an organization gain a permanent foothold in Canada. The reform principles it advocates are championed by tens of thousands in Canada outside of that body. It has no power but that of the United States, which is a want to occupy a place in the homes of the people. But while in Canada the Socialist Labor party are small in numbers and wield an influence that is imperceptible, they have an existence in a few urban centers. Their right, however, to use the name of "Labor" is disputed, for the reason that it is a non-union body. It has been deemed equally undesirable that those who have become its members should be regarded as the champions of "Socialism." Those who believe (1) That Christ was the founder of the Church; (2) That Christ founded the Church; and (3) That the doctrines taught by Him are those the Church ought ever to espouse in their entirety, are the only real Socialists; but to distinguish them from others who are now known as Socialists, and with whom the anarchists are often confounded, a more comprehensive designation of Christian Socialists has frequently been applied to them.

In regard to the above he would call attention to the following:

The Socialist Labor party knows better than to attempt to enlist any one religion for Socialist principles. It regards the scientific teachings of Socialism as too broad to be narrowed by any creed. Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, Hindus, Brahmins, Confucians, Theosophists, are ALL welcome to the pure white light of Socialist science. The S. L. P. stands on a solid foundation of facts. It promises nothing impossible and knows that the teachings of Socialism are promoters of morality and righteousness in the social relations of mankind. Not only is the S. L. P. NOT hostile to the Christian Church, whether Protestant or Catholic, but it is absolutely non-committal. It is, however, emphatically hostile to the teachings, from whatever source, which cloud the minds of the people on the social question, and delay the education of the masses as to their rights and duties. Mr. Wrigley is limiting his work for the "reform movement" in thus addressing Christian ministers, to ONE sect; blind to the fact that the Socialist movement of the working class the world over cannot be limited by sex, color or creed. In this Section alone, we have within our ranks Protestant Christians, Catholic Christians, Jews, and agnostics, all working shoulder to shoulder in the cause of the oppressed. How, then, can we be bitterly hostile to the Church? What Church?

Our critic further says: "It is not desirable that the S. L. P. gain a permanent foothold in Canada"; and why? Because it cannot be swerved from its purpose, and because of the devotedness of its members to their principles; also because it cannot be used as a walking horse for "Social Reform" tricksters.

What would our critic suggest instead of the S. L. P.? Come out with it, "Christian Comrade"! Is it the Direct Legislation League of which your "journal" is the organ? And will you tell us how the working class are to be emancipated from wage slavery—if not by a political party of their own class? Read the call for the International Socialist Congress issued by our French comrades and see if your Direct Legislation League can gain admittance, "Christian Comrade." There is no such thing as the S. L. P. not gaining a foothold in Canada. It already has. It is rooted too deeply in the heart of its members and has proved too good to be cast aside at the dictation of such critics.

As for the objection that our press is that of the United States. Socialism knows no country. It is international, cosmopolitan and as we find THE PEOPLE of New York, and "The Class Struggle" of San Francisco, deliver OUR message to the workers until we get a press of our own, they are supported by us. We have no apology to offer for so doing, and we ask the Editor of "Citizen and Country" to show us why we should use HIS paper in preference to the S. L. P. press of the United States—least of all could we be induced to use "Citizen and Country" for propaganda purposes.

Another objection of our critic is that we are small in numbers. Well, what is it? We have been smaller still. The absence of a movement is not to be judged only by the numbers of its advocates;—and "we have only a foothold in a few urban centers." To one who understands the class struggle, the evidence that we know to whom we must deliver our message, is that our party has cast root first in the large centers of population. For the information of the uninitiated the S. L. P. was its first candidate for Legislative Assembly in London, Ont., last March (1898), polling 127 votes. In the municipal elections of this (1898) the S. L.

P. had candidates for offices in four Ontario cities (Toronto, Hamilton, London and Brantford), polling close on 2,000 votes.

The pioneer candidate for the Legislature, who in March polled only 127 votes, ten months afterwards polled 922 votes in the same city for Water Commissioner.

Is that imperceptible influence? We leave the reader to judge!

Sections of our party are also organized in Montreal, Ottawa, and Vancouver, B. C., several of them have over 50 members, and one has over 100 members. This Section, since its organization last December with 22 members, has more than doubled its membership.

But more than all, we have right and truth and justice on our side, and the principles we are advocating fight for us better than ten times our number in numbers only. The S. L. P. is the wage workers political party. They cannot long remain blind to its merits. It is absolutely just and fearless, and pursues its course undeterred by threats or abuse, confident that in the long run its firm stand and uncompromising honesty will inspire those whom it aims to lead to the promised land of peace and plenty.

Our critic further says we are a non-union body. This statement is abundant proof that this "Social Reform" Editor has failed to note the signs of the times, viz., that the old forms and spirit of labor unions are almost impotent to resist the aggressions of concentrated capital. But the S. L. P. IS a union body. It is in fact the only body in Canada advocating the indissoluble union of all the labor forces, NOT ONLY IN THE SHOP, BUT AT THE BALLOT BOX AS WELL. Our party advocates the complete union, both economic and political, of all the working people for the protection and enforcement of their right. The Council Board of Labor is incomplete while the S. L. P. is not present and in the presiding chair. We tell the workingman it is suicide for him to fight his employer 364 days in the year and the 365th to vote him or his representatives into political power.

If we are a non-union body—of what use is our motto: "Workmen of the world, unite!" or that other: "He who would be free, himself must strike the blow!" The pamphlets and press of our party fairly teem with the call to Educate! Agitate! Organize!

The S. L. P. tells the workers that they, and they alone, can emancipate themselves from wage slavery. It shows them how the capitalist class is tied hand and foot to the system of private ownership and exploitation, and that nothing can be expected from it, as a class. It also shows the workers how the middle class of small capitalists (farmers, shopkeepers, etc.) seek to use the workers' vote in its fight against its big competitor.

It tells the workers to examine carefully all "Social Reforms" proposed to them that to allow their votes to be used for the furtherance of middle class interests is only to delay the day of their own emancipation.

In a word, it stands firmly on the everpresent fact of the class struggle, and for the complete union of the proletarian forces for the conquest of the political powers, and the Socialist reconstruction of society.

Could any political party talk straighter? Its message to the middle class is to warn them of the fate that awaits them, that of inevitable absorption into the ranks of the proletariat, through the relentless pressure of capitalism, a process going on before their very eyes. The only hope it holds out to the middle class is, not that of assistance in its fleecings of labor, but the hope of the world, THE HOPE OF WORKING CLASS EMANCIPATION.

To those of the capitalist class who honestly desire to have justice done to the workers, it holds out a welcoming hand, but to the wage working class, first of all, is our message addressed. To that kindly, guileless, long suffering class, which has been the silent spectator of previous class struggles;—but which now, by the logic of events, is so placed that it must for the good of all abolish the present war of classes or go down to pauperism, slavery and wholesale destruction.

This is straight talk, and the times demand it. But it is just this straight talk that we suspect bothers our critic, for in his issue of December 15, he condemns the American Socialist press for straight talk, and says: "What is said is often the truth, but it is not always wise to tell all the truth"; reminding us of Herbert Spencer's skit on those people having a hatred of exact conclusions—"According to such," says Spencer, "the right is never in either extreme but always half way between the extremes. They are continually trying to reconcile Yes and No. Ifs and Buts and Excepts are their delight. . . . Were you to enquire of them whether the earth turns on its axis from East to West or from West to East you might almost expect them to reply: 'A little of both—or—Not exactly either.' They have a passion for compromises. To meet their taste, Truth must always be spiced with a little Error."

And also of a passage from Lowell: "Let us speak plain. There is more force in names than most men dream of and a lie may keep its throne a whole age longer if it skulk behind the shield of some fair seeming name. Let us call tyrants, tyrants, and maintain that only freedom comes by grace of God and all that comes not by his grace must fall. For men in earnest have no time to waste in patching fig-leaves for the naked truth."

But, to get back to our subject, let the reader get the pamphlet, "Attitude of the Socialist Labor Party Towards Trade Unions"—and JUDGE FOR HIMSELF where the S. L. P. stands with regard to organized labor. Subjoined is the Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada—headquarters, 23 Duane street, New York—, an international organization for the propagation of New Trade Unionism among the workers:

WHEREAS, In the natural development of capitalism, the class struggle between

the privileged few and the disinherited masses, which is the inevitable and irrepressible outcome of the wage system, has reached a point where the old forms, methods and spirit of labor organization are absolutely impotent to resist the aggressions of concentrated capital, sustained by all the agencies of government, and to effect any permanent improvement in the condition of the wage earners, or even to arrest for any length of time their steady and general degradation; and

WHEREAS, The economic power of the capitalist class, used by that class for the oppression of labor, rests upon institutions essentially political, which in the nature of things cannot be radically changed, or even slightly amended for the benefit of the working people, except through the direct action of the working people themselves, economically and politically united as a class;

THEREFORE, It is as a class, conscious of its strength, aware of its rights, determined to resist at every step and sworn to achieve its own emancipation, that the wage workers are hereby called upon to unite in a solid body, held together by the spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle. As members of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada, we shall constantly keep in view the great object, namely, the summary ending of that barbarous struggle at the earliest possible time by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and of the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present system of private property, industrial war and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, and by all the modern factors of civilization.

"Who are Socialists?"—Our critic's unique definition of those who are the only real Socialists is so utterly devoid of any foundation in fact as to arouse suspicion that it is a printer's joke.

However, it is written in the Editor's best style and with all the accessories of punctuation, etc., that we can only suppose he was meaning what he said.

If, then, the only real Socialists are those who believe:

1. That Christ was the first Socialist on earth.
2. That Christ founded the Church.
3. That the doctrines taught by him are those the Church ought ever to espouse in their entirety.

What becomes of the millions of votes cast throughout the world by Socialists in favor of "the collective ownership of all the means of production and distribution?"

Perhaps that is what is taught by the Anarchists, with whom our critic says, "the Socialists are often confounded." As we have previously stated, Socialists are those who aim to substitute COLLECTIVE for PRIVATE ownership of the machinery of production and distribution, and they are of all religious beliefs. The belief or non-belief that Christ founded the Church, and that he was the first Socialist, cannot possibly make a Socialist, any more than a belief that Gladstone was an Englishman would make the person believing it an Englishman. By making such assertions our critic exposes his ignorance of and his inability to comprehend the social question.

To be a Socialist one must combine three essential points:

1. He must hold that the Co-operative Commonwealth or Socialist Republic is a desirable, is a necessary and is an inevitable thing.
2. He must understand WHY the Socialist Republic is desirable, necessary and inevitable. Understanding this, he will understand the theory of the class struggle and thus the tactics necessary to reach the goal.
3. He must act up to that knowledge.

The attack of Mr. Wrigley, by whatever motive inspired, is only valuable as showing the great need in the "Social Reform" movement of a clear understanding of the Social Question in all its phases. Nothing more need be said other than that the Socialist Labor party pursues its course, fearless and confident of success, undismayed by attacks from front or rear, knowing that its steadfast adherence to principle will inspire the confidence of those whom it aims to weld into a class-conscious party of Labor, united for the conquest of the political powers and for the Socialist reconstruction of society.

Speed the day!
VANCOUVER, B. C., SECTION,
S. L. P.

LABOR NEWS COMPANY,

147 East 23rd Street, N. Y.

(Store open from 8 a. m. to 9 p. m.)

Our customers are requested not to send us checks drawn on banks outside of New York, as a special fee is now charged for their collection. Please send money orders instead.

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Three Lectures on the Science of Thought.....	.25
Ludwig Noire: The Origin of Language.....	.15
From now on all orders for party emblem buttons and pins should be sent to the N. Y. Labor News Company, 147 East 23rd Street, N. Y. All other pins and buttons 25 cents per dozen.	
"Merrie England" can now be supplied at 25 cents.	

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Things in Spokane, Wash.

To THE PEOPLE.—We are gaining ground here. Have secured a hall for a monthly propaganda meetings and expect to give our capitalist friends some help in opening the eyes of the American sovereign. The economic conditions here are perfect for the banking corporation that owns all the property. The employer here is also. He has invented a method of hiring and paying without money. He allows the slave to work just enough to pay his board and tobacco bill and the "captain of industry" always has the pocket full of money. Between the employment agent and the contractor a little game is played that would make Marx himself revise some of his conclusions. Just what Nordan discovered that the "iron law of wages" did not express the whole horrible truth: that the workers were actually dying of slow starvation. The capitalist here is not only a robber of his wages, but he is a robber of his life. The few dollars he may have saved (heaven knows how before he can get the "job.") What we have tried to explain to him: that he is a robber of his life. The worse off he is, may not look so mysterious to him after he builds a few railroads on this last scientific plan.

W. S. DALTON.
Spokane, Wash., March 17.

Wise Hamilton, Canada, Capitalist Editor.

To THE PEOPLE.—The following letter was refused publication by the capitalist press of this city:

Dear Sir:—While perusing your widely circulated family journal of a recent issue, I noticed two articles having a great bearing on the subject of the "iron law of wages" as set forth by the Rev. J. C. B. Moore, delivered recently in the opera house on the subject "Work and Wages," and the other the report of the explanation by the local capitalist, the Rev. J. C. B. Moore, delivered recently in the opera house on the subject "Work and Wages."

Taking the Reverend gentleman's remarks first, he quotes the scripture "By the sweat of thy brow shall thou eat thy bread." The man who works on the street is a sure sign of sin. "All work is honorable, all men should work." So far so good. Now, Sir, the question is whose is the sin? The man who works on the street who forces him to idleness, the man who shifts the blame onto the rotten social system that allows one man to exploit another and drive him into the sin of idleness.

"There are many who would rather loaf"—of course, among the exploited wage earners there is nothing wrong with the capitalist's loafing. It is his right. He is a "brain worker" working his brain to devise some scheme to rob the worker of his production. "Too many men are standing in the bridge of the world, and with their feet on the shoulders of the worker." What a shame that a man should be discontented with his lot. I wonder if the Rev. gentleman would be content with his lot? He would not be content with his lot if he were not a capitalist. He would not be content with his lot if he were not a capitalist. He would not be content with his lot if he were not a capitalist.

Then he goes off at another tangent, i. e., the eight-hour system. He says: "It is the only way to get the worker to work again." The employer who works his men eight hours will get as much done as his neighbor who works his ten. If a man can get his work done in eight hours, then that will take no longer of the street. How much better off would the exploited class be under such a system? He has mocked the efficacy of the eight-hour system by such an argument. He has said: "Employers should give an honest day's wage for an honest day's work." He cannot, the only way to give a man an honest wage is to give him all he produces, and if the employer should do that there would be nothing left for profit, and, being that it is profit and not use he is after, he would be foolish to expect an honest day's wage. "The wage question is another thing, it is impossible to equalize wages." Now his nothing is easier, to quote the gentleman's words: "He that will not work, shall not eat."—No man must eat his bread by the sweat of another's brow: that equalizes wages to a nicety.

"Bargain hunting helps keep down wages."—Rather low wages force bargain hunting. A man on one dollar or one-and-a-quarter a day will be a good bargain, and rent to pay has certainly got to hunt for bargain. Now for the "local coal baron." He says that the scarcity of coal is one of the mine owners, finding themselves with a large stock on hand last spring, owing to the mildness of the winter, determined that they would not be caught this spring so limited the supply by limiting the output to three days a week. Now, in other words, it means this: The mines, being in the hands of private individuals, the coal at any time can be fit close down the mines, and freeze us to death. Now, Sir, why was there such a large surplus at the mines last spring when thousands had not enough to keep them warm? I wonder if the mine owner working three days a week will not have to seek bargains, but I think I had better close my letter or someone may see the cat.

Hamilton, Can., March 30.
W. G. WATSON.

Straight Stuff, or Nothing.

To THE PEOPLE.—There is no use trying to keep the capitalist class out of THE PEOPLE. The woods is so full of the shell game species of newspapers—reform, socialistically inclined, Social Democracy of America (have us from this party), and so on, that it is impossible to claim to save us from being swamped in the slough of skin deep Tomfoolery, but the New York PEOPLE. Now that there are no articles, with any sign of virtue respectability.

1. The Republican party, avowedly and practically capitalist, and
2. The Socialist party, purely avowedly, practically and scientifically Socialist.

We need a paper that strikes down, and in time (not wait until somebody has taken the lead) (when, as a rule, it is too late) the myriads of frauds living now in the so-called old Democratic camp, in the Reform ranks, labor unions (pure and simple), etc. THE PEOPLE has done this in the past, and we feel sure it will do so in the future. No compromise, no tolerance for palpable frauds.

Let us have the straight stuff, or nothing.

LUKE D. BECHTEL.
Los Angeles, March 20.

A War-Tax-Paying "Workman."

To THE PEOPLE.—Appropos of the discussion of the "iron law of wages" regarding wages, brought on by the "Volkszeitung," claim the workman pays the war taxes. The following will show the falseness of the statement. Let the working class pay war taxes, and the correctness of the statement that "tax reform" is a middle class battle cry—only use. In the interests of that class.

At a meeting held in New York City about two months ago, I was speaking on Militarism. After the lecture, I was asked if it was not a fact that the working class paid the war taxes. In answer I pointed out that the so-called war taxes were levied mainly upon exchanges of real estate, telegrams, Pullman car tickets, steamship tickets, etc., etc. All parties, including the working class, therefore, as the working class did not exchange real estate, ride in Pullmans, go on trips to Europe, send telegrams or indulge in the buying of billiard tables they certainly did not pay the taxes on those things. Mention was also made of the fact that taxes were necessary on bank checks, as is the case with workingmen have a running amount at a bank, of course, that tax is paid by the working class—Aber nit!

The only tax which is levied on any extent used by the working class is beer; even here the workman does not pay the tax. A glass of beer to-day is as large as it was a year ago, and costs the same, the same, it did a year ago. True, we chase the festive growler now that where in the past the presiding genius of the beer-selling establishment may have been careless as to

the amount of froth on the pint or quart of beer, now he is particular and sees that the measure is just full but not running over. Therefore about the only way in which the working class, as a class, pays the war tax, even on beer is in this way that it gets more froth or "collar" on its beer than formerly.

After the meeting, I was met by a man, wearing the party button, who said: "Comrade Keep, you are wrong, the working class pays the tax on beer. I am a workman and work hard every day; and I pay \$1 more for a barrel of beer than I did a year ago."—Why, said I, do you buy your beer by the BARREL?—Yes, said he, "I keep a saloon."—Oho!—Could there be anything better to show that the material interests bind them to facts. This saloonkeeper DOES pay the tax, but is he a proletarian? Does he do so as a proletarian? He reads the "Volkszeitung," which tells him the working class pays taxes; he is a reader of the "Volkszeitung," therefore, and, of course, because he does read it, and solely because he reads it, a workingman pays the taxes. Great logic!

Reading the article headed "Sign-Posts" in THE PEOPLE, I see that the laborer Baruch, who has become a violent supporter of the Editor of the "Volkszeitung," is it because Justus, and such others, being saloonkeepers, pay an extra tax on beer, or a barrel that the "Volkszeitung" is trying to prove that the workman pays the taxes?

Such misleading and confusing articles as have appeared in the "Volkszeitung" on the subject of who pays the taxes, but only to confusion as to who pays, but to a blurring, serious at that, of well marked class distinctions.

ARTHUR KEEP.
New York, March 31.

Who Can Answer?

To THE PEOPLE.—If you have the space to spare, please publish the following request for information: Will Mr. E. J. Lynch, or J. J. Kinney, please explain who is to blame for the omission of communications in the "Metal Polishers' Journal"? Has a press censorship been established, and why are the articles not returned, and the reasons given for rejection? This is the duty of the Editor of "The Journal," as we will see, if he looks up Article 1, Section 9 of the constitution. If Mr. Lynch is willing to publish answers to articles, he should at least return the manuscripts, so that the writers can show up Mr. Lynch or the ones who take his place during his absence.

It seems Mr. Lynch tries to suppress information on the class struggle. The tie-bits are more suitable to the interests of our bosses, isn't it, Mr. Lynch?

M. MEYER.
Detroit, Mich., March 25.

The Lay of the Land in Indiana.

To THE PEOPLE.—In the midst of a severe winter, hard times, etc., we can report progress. Although this is the great Hoosier State that has furnished more than enough of Presidents, nevertheless, as the President must be full to overflowing, we have decided to be held in the fall for the purpose of raising campaign funds, and pushing the sale of our literature by having a daily election of the best of the papers and make a special effort to bring our literature before the public so that our labors may be a lasting work.

It seems Mr. Lynch tries to suppress information on the class struggle. The tie-bits are more suitable to the interests of our bosses, isn't it, Mr. Lynch?

Section Indianapolis has made great progress. Subscribers to our press have at least doubled; our membership increased one-third; we have now a working committee, headquarters, and reading room combined, Hauser Hall, room 10, third floor. There you can always find some one of us in attendance. On March 19 we had a very large celebration. It was a great success; a neat sum was realized, to be turned over to the State Committee for the campaign fund. Indiana has a large number of city officers in the fall. We are going to place the Arm and Hammer over a full Socialist ticket. With the principle of justice and the feeling of victory in hearts, we shall

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